/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The [171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

/131 cont'd/

This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us. Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept, he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people. Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao; their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village, under the family names of Lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupation was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i. They gave us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear. The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in. When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

2:Ling & Ruey--iii E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

114 In the last one hundred years many European missionaries and scholars have come to China and have done considerable work in ethnological and philological research. Their published writings can be used, in great measure, as source material for academic studies. However, little has been done on the Miao tribe in western Hunan. In 1902 Torii Ryūzō of Japan traveled extensively in the southwestern provinces of China, investigating the life of the Miao. Although he traveled through western Hunan he was unable to enter the Miao area to work. Therefore, the Miao area of western Hunan can still be described as a virgin area for ethnological study.

In the spring and summer of 1933 the writers visited western Hunan for an investigation of the Miao. We left Nanking on May 1, following the Yangtze westward and passing through Wuchang, Hankow, and Changsha, to arrive at Changteh and Taoyüan; and again going westward along the Yüan River to P'u-shih in Lu-ch'i hsien, and thence abandoning the boat we traveled overland to Feng-huang. In the border area of the three hsien Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui, we made on-the-spot investigations and inquiries concerning all phases of Miao life. We returned to Nanking on August 1, after a period of three full months.

Three months is naturally too short a time for a thorough investigation of Miao life. However, we were greatly aided in our mission by the authorities of western Hunan, as well as by the Miao themselves, whose enthusiastic cooperation facilitated our work in every way. Through the division of labor among the three of us, day and night, we were able to shorten the time required for our work. The distribution of our work was as follows: The geography of the Miao territory, and the life, customs, and drum dances, etc. of the Miao people were undertaken by Ling Shun-sheng; the language, folk songs, and folklore, [126] etc. by Ruey Yih-fu; and photography, films, drawing, and

/1 cont./

114 [116] 115 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao //Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

292 /88 cont./
[764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccaeus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 高布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 敍府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

114 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

[P. ii IS BLANK]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)1934 AE5 Miao AE5

with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

A M 857 123 [126] /58 cont./ watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading them to continue their activities or their games in our presence. Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations, as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele-Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A M 857 As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their activities during their free time are usually separated from those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and [redacted] and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood. M 834 857 There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

/179 cont./

attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

[see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a
782 small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
[276] house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50). Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
755 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
787 all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.